1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

• 553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work. 853 854 596 621 [618] [853]

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often. 862

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance. 863

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

753 755 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 757 177 178 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availability of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness, and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman, if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation. Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by external circumstances. A case in point is the following which happened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming [553] takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes [852] human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and [761] then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the traditional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

*583 591 611 *[553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

*583 591 611

583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

liēng-kià: and one who is khe-páng-kià:. Tsuruo Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a khe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the khe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in HsiaoChichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

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1 Tsuruo Okada, Kiso Shaki, op. cit., p. 7.

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster family's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lâng-lâ, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sim-pû, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cá-tó-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

217 The authorities want the birth registered as soon as
851 possible but cultural values are in opposition since a baby is not quite human until 30 days have elapsed. Funerals, for example, are only conducted for those who live at least 30 days.

852 The end of 30 days is marked by a major ceremony,
851 man yueh (full month). The baby's head is annointed and shaved and then he is taken outside to show the neighbors. The family of the baby's mother provides a complete set of clothes which tend to decline in elaborateness in direct proportion to the number of grandchildren. In Sanlei, almost as a mirror image, the family of an adopted-in husband often provides the outfit and gifts if financially able. There will usually be a luncheon party to celebrate man yueh with food provided by all four grandparents.

• 553 At the ceremony, everyone will hear the child's name.
[852] The surname should be obvious but because of the number of adopted-in husbands, it is possible the child could receive either mother's or father's. Although agreements were originally considered clear, their interpretations are often a matter of dispute and some people also change their minds. There should be two more parts to the name but a very few children only receive one although the latter practice is disappearing. Every child under 12 in the village had two names in addition to his surname although several adults had but one. One name is uniquely a child's own. The middle

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his